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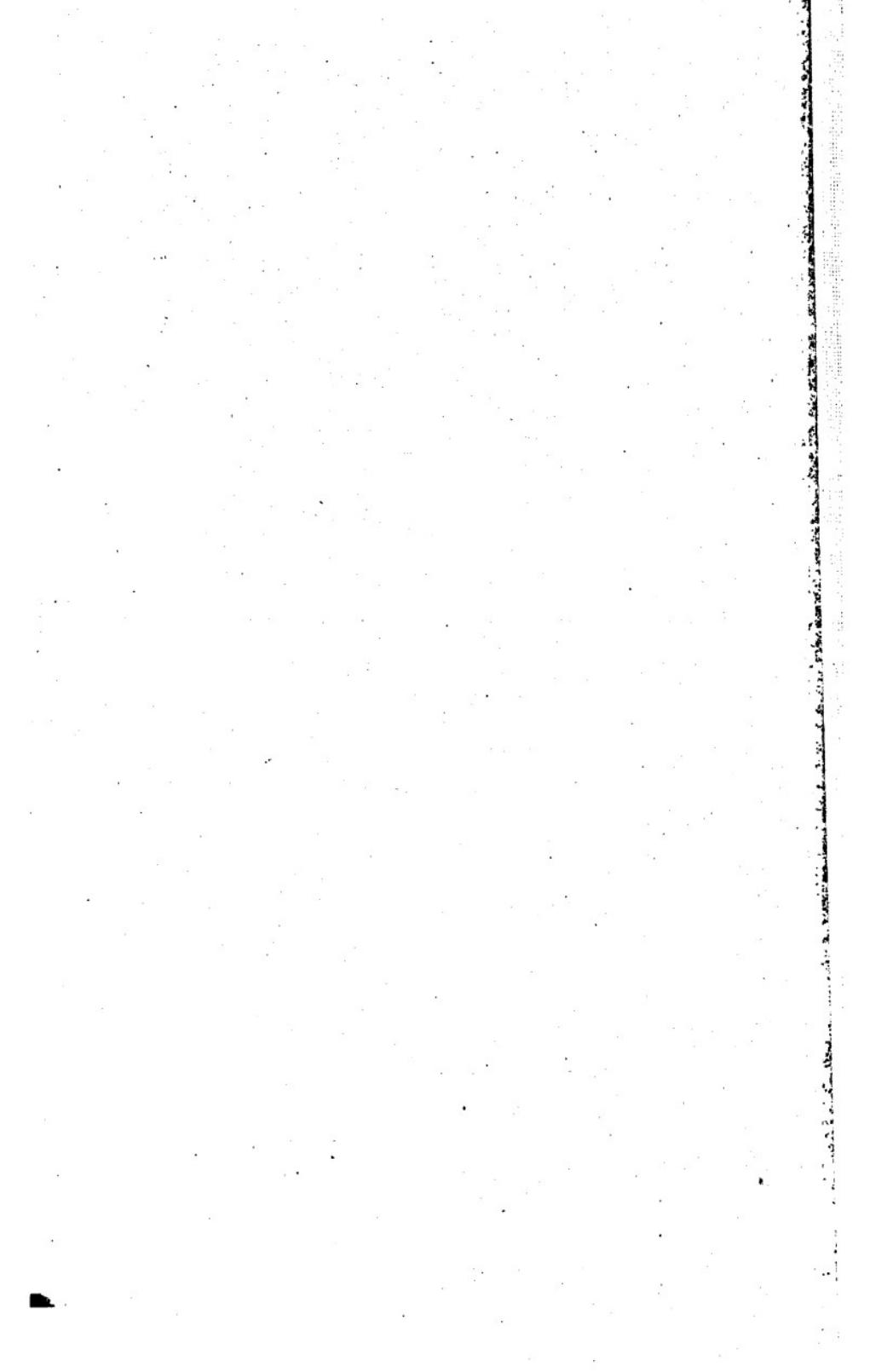
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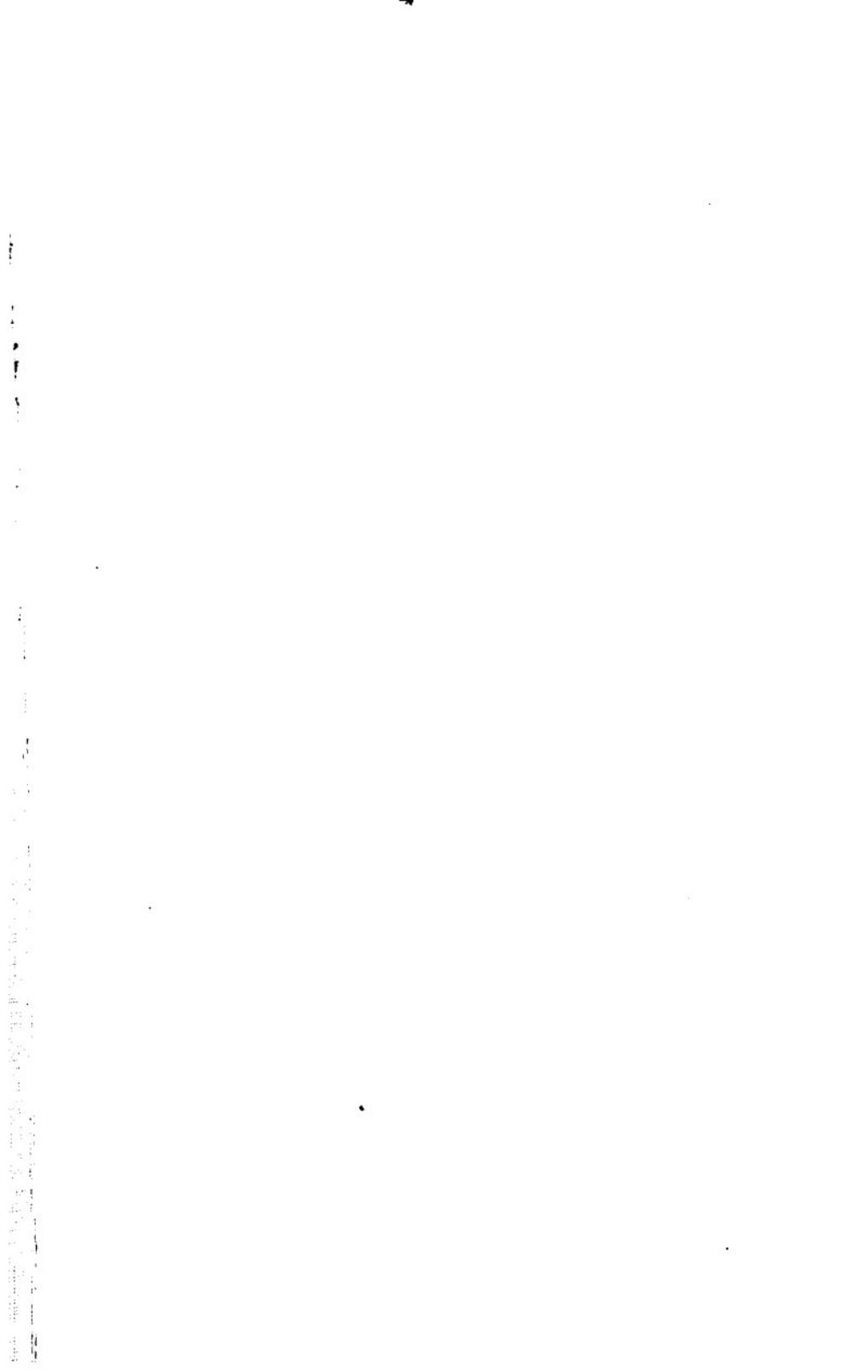
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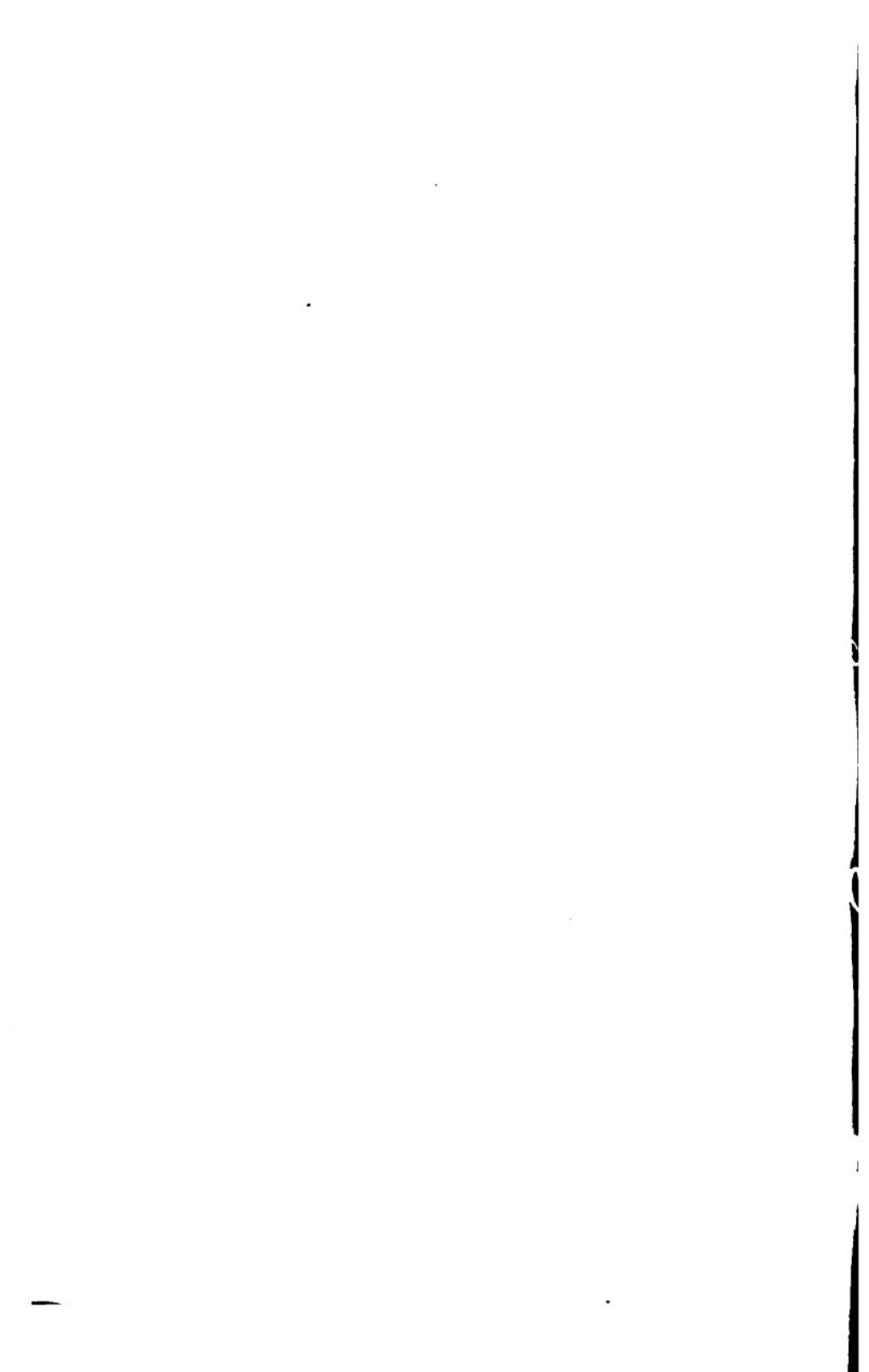
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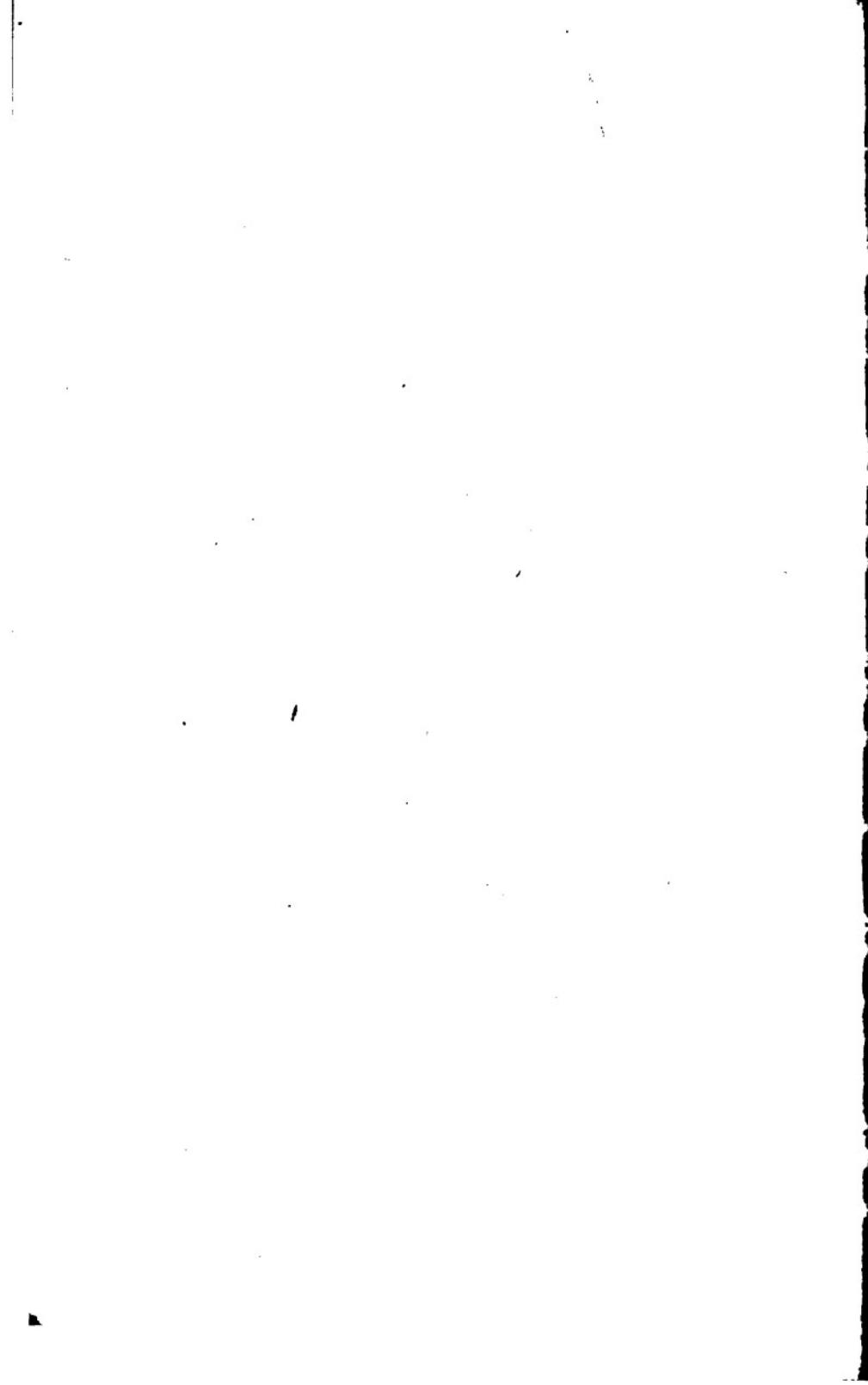




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Hints for the Political Speaker

By

WARREN C. DuBois, A.M., LL.B.

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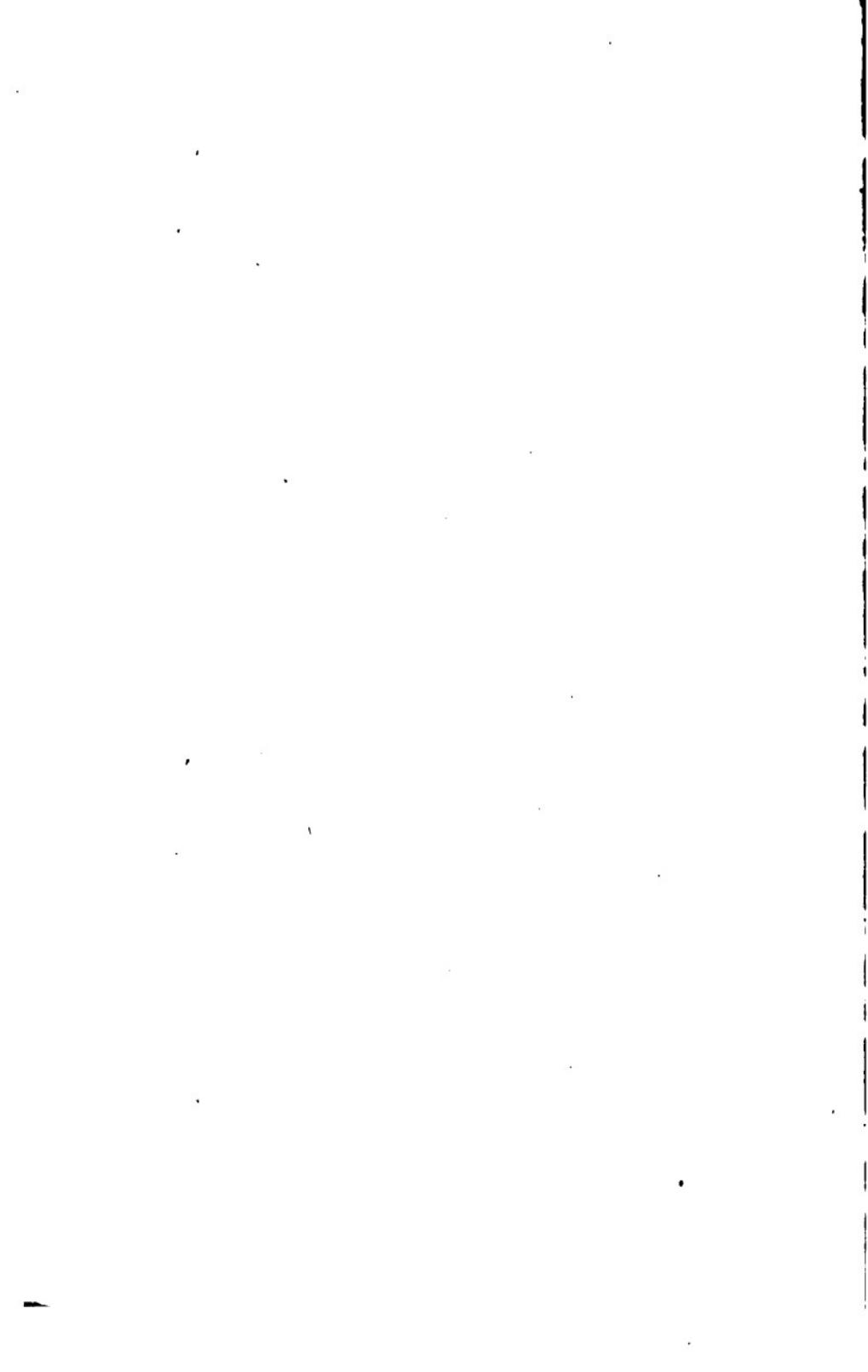
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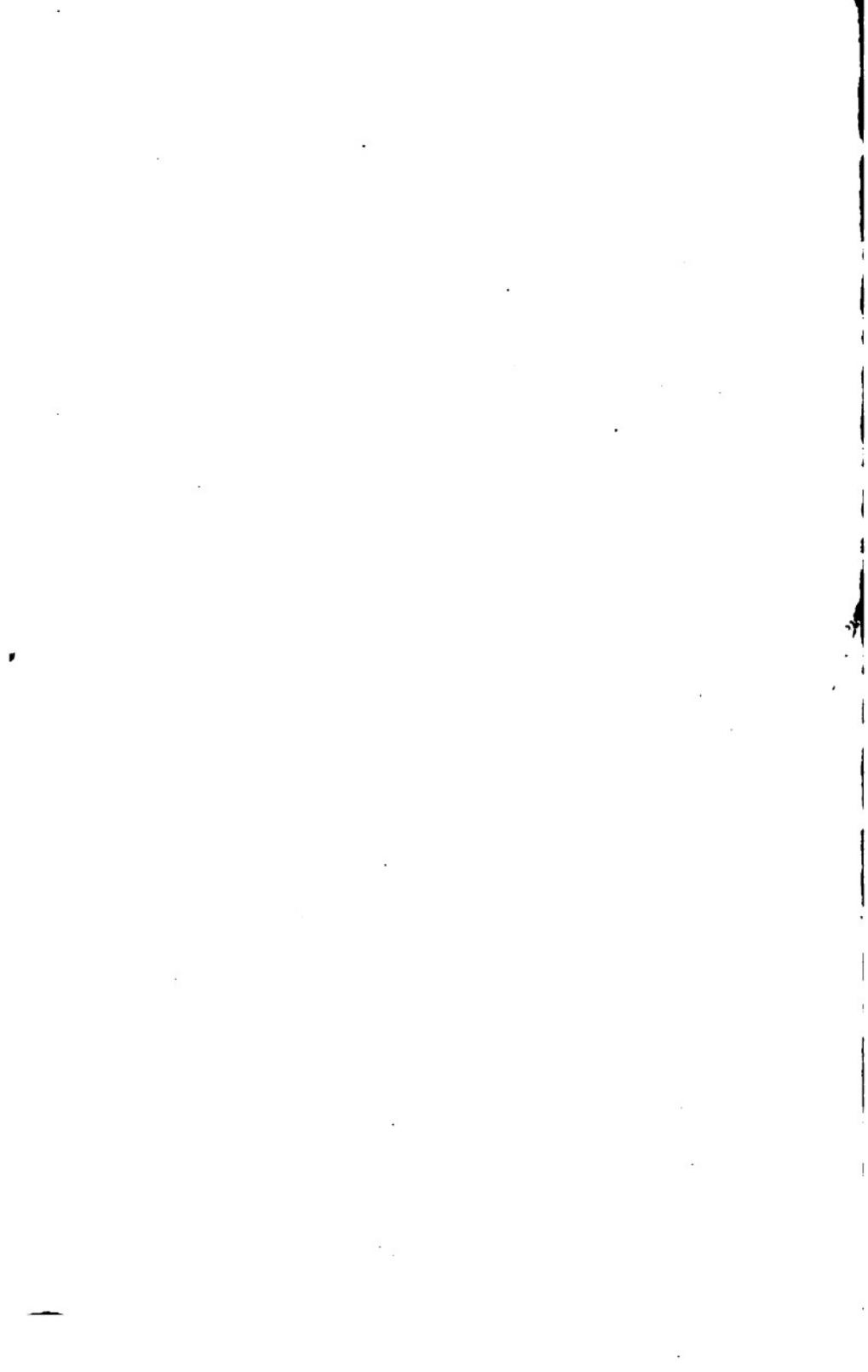
To
HAMILTON COLLEGE
The "*Home of Oratory*"

(24. 15 Feb 1920)



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PREFACE

There is no path to self-confidence and personal power among men more direct than the ability to stand on one's feet and speak effectively. And no American institution offers greater possibilities to the average citizen than the stump. To men without financial means or influential friends, it opens the door to political power and influence. Ability in campaigning is an asset which once acquired can never be taken from you. If you have built your political career on this foundation, the storms of political vicissitudes can never wreck it.

The ease with which a candidate can reach the electorate through the press, the increasing popularity of motion pictures as a means of political advertising and the wasteful manner in which "literature" is disseminated in every election district of the Union have tended to convince some

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that the day of the political speaker is passing and that his influence has descended to the level of the red-fife and brass bands.

Nothing could be farther from the truth. True, political speaking has undergone a great change; it must continue to change with times, for it is a means and not an end. But as a means of influencing votes in a campaign it is still the powerful medium. Nothing can take the place of the spoken word; no argument, no matter how convincing on paper, can compare with the cogent influence of the personal appeal. The practice of candidates taking the stump grows in favor each year.

It is estimated that there are over twenty-five thousand men and women on the stump every Fall. It is the opinion of many professional campaigners that not one in five succeeds in changing votes. What an astounding percentage of failures!

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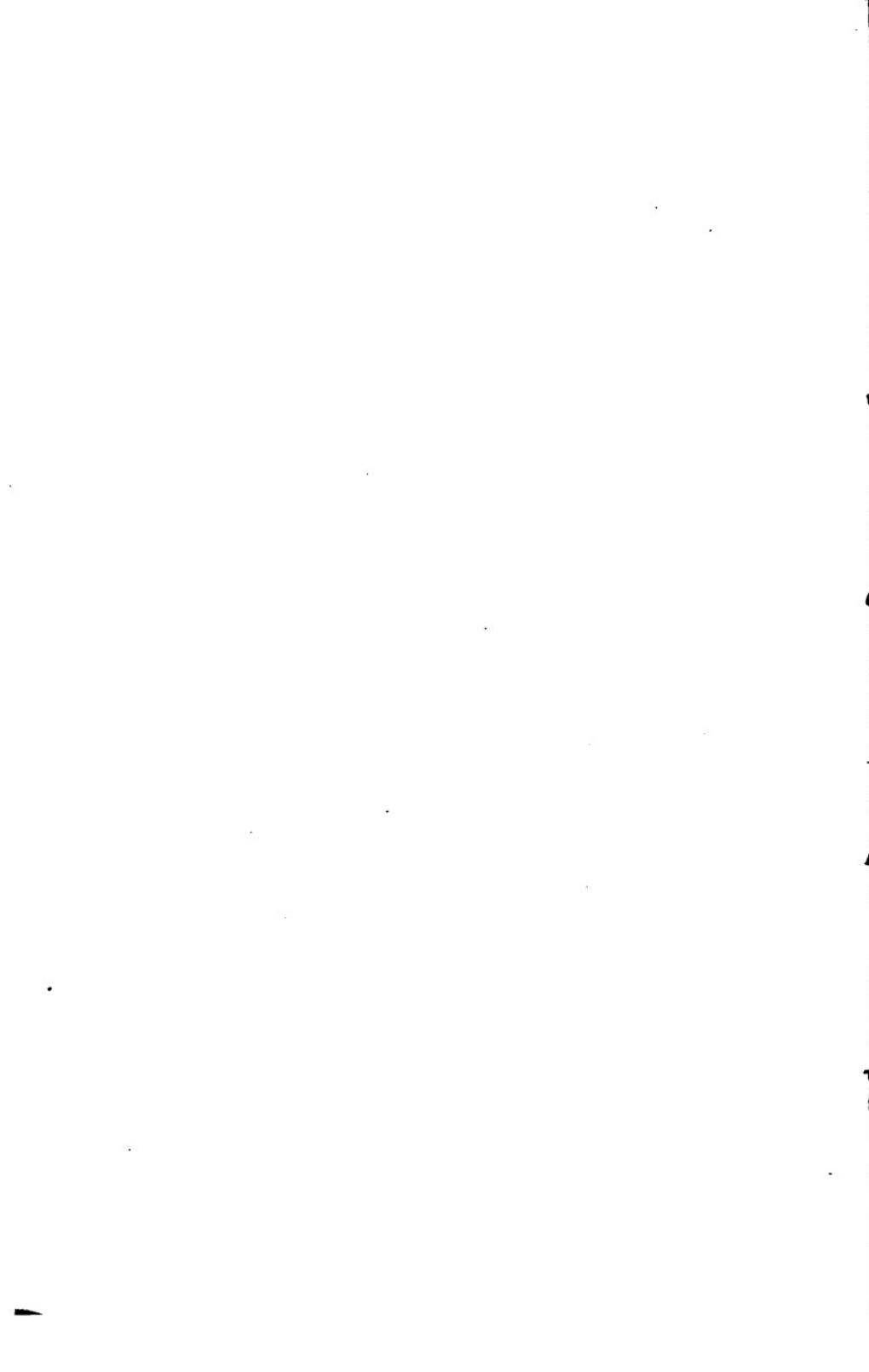
This book is written to point out the principles underlying success in political speaking and to warn the campaigner of the many little pitfalls into which so many unconsciously fall with harmful results to their cause.

The author wishes to thank the many veterans of the political platform, too numerous to mention here, who have so generously aided him with their opinions and advice on the many little questions of political speaking that confront the beginner. He has incorporated many of their suggestions in the pages of this brief work.

WARREN C. DUBoIS.

165 Broadway, New York City.

June 1, 1921.



STICK TO THE ISSUES

On the eve of the presidential election of 1884, one of the most exciting campaigns in American history, a group of New York clergymen held a public meeting to pledge their support to James G. Blaine and to offset the undercurrent of opinion that many of their number opposed him for religious reasons. In the course of the evening, the Rev. Samuel Dickinson Burchard made an impassioned speech which included somewhere the statement, "The Democratic Party is the party of rum, Romanism and rebellion!"

Few of those present paid any attention to the remark and it was not mentioned in the press reports of the following morning. Several days later a group of Democrats, going over a stenographic report of the speech, chanced upon this sentence. Within a few hours it was on every press wire in the nation; the next day it was

printed in nearly every newspaper in the country. Blaine and his supporters did everything in their power to repudiate responsibility for the utterance. But the harm had been done.

Blaine was defeated by a narrow margin. The political wiseacres of both parties seem unanimous in the opinion that the religious prejudices which Burchard's speech aroused brought about the election of Cleveland.

Religion as a political issue in America has always proved to be a two-edged sword. But that is not the point of this story. It was told to illustrate the truth that it is infinitely easier to hurt the cause of your candidate than it is to aid it.

If you have decided to enter the arena of political campaigning in behalf of a party or one of its candidates, be sure that you follow the plan of battle laid down for you by that party and its candidates. A party's platform is the result of thousands

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of opinions welded into a few. The planks of that platform as interpreted by the standard bearer of the party is the only battle guide. If you enlist in the ranks of campaigners, you do so with the oath that you will fight along the lines that have been mapped out for you. To do otherwise is just as disloyal as the conduct of the soldier who, in disobedience to the orders of his superior officer, leaves the ranks of his comrades and engages the enemy at will.

Stick to the issues of the campaign!

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PREPARING THE SPEECH

Study the Issues

It is surprising how few of the men who take the stump night after night during the campaign have a clear understanding of the real issues. Blinded by their own prejudices or by mere party loyalty, many campaigners essay to win over independent voters to a cause which they themselves do not appreciate. Such a worker is always a liability on the platform; for he not only fails to attract wavering voters but frequently antagonizes those who are kindly disposed toward his party and its candidates.

What are the issues and where are they to be found? The answer is simple—in the platforms of the parties. These are the only reliable starting points. Begin there. Then read the speeches of acceptance by the nominees. As the heads of their respective parties the national, state or mun-

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icipal candidates form the court of last resort in interpreting the issues of the campaign. Frequently, these men will bring in new issues not mentioned in the platforms. Such was the case in the campaign of 1916 when Mr. Hughes championed woman suffrage and denounced the administration for passing the Adamson Bill. Neither of these questions was mentioned in the platform of the Republican party. But the action of Mr. Hughes made them issues and the rank and file of the party followed his leadership and arguments on both.

The committee of your party in charge of the campaign publishes a handbook for speakers. It contains the platform, the nominee's speech of acceptance and a mass of material for use on the stump. Get a copy of it as soon as it is published and make it your political bible. You will not only be sure that you are on the right track, but you will find a wealth of am-

munition for making your individual campaign fight. Study it carefully and you will take the stump with a confidence that will go a long way toward insuring the success of your personal efforts. If there is any point in that book which is not clear to you, take it to the head of your speakers' bureau and obtain his interpretation of it.

When you are thoroughly familiar with your own party's platform, study that of the other. No man ever won a close fight without knowing the position and arguments of his opponent.

Choosing an Issue

Some men are so constituted that when they attend a funeral they want to be the corpse, at a wedding they would play the roles of bride, groom and clergyman, and when they speak at a political gathering they want to utter the last word on every issue in the campaign. Theodore

Roosevelt characterized them as "men who spread themselves over such a wide field that they show through in spots."

No man, with the possible exception of the presidential, gubernatorial or chief municipal nominee, should attempt to speak on every issue in the campaign. In the first place, very few men are able to keep abreast of the times on all the questions debated daily in a campaign. Second, no man can attain the best results who does not center his efforts on a sector sufficiently small to enable him to know every inch of the ground on which he is fighting.

Choose an issue. And in choosing it, keep in mind the popularity of that issue in the locality in which you will speak and your ability to discuss that issue intelligently and effectively.

Most men find it simple to select a topic; their feelings or prejudices dictate the choice. But when it comes to talking be-

fore an audience, they sometimes find that they have nothing but their prejudices to present. And that is a very dangerous position to occupy. If you have a burning conviction on some question or issue, that is the best subject for your speech. But be sure that you arm yourself with facts as well as feelings.

Collecting Material

Great debates are usually won by the side which has made the most exhaustive study of the subject. Napoleon used to say that the Almighty always seemed to be on the side which had the heaviest artillery. Your artillery is your array of facts and arguments.

Having chosen an issue, the next step is to make yourself so familiar with it that you can discuss it any hour of the day or night from any angle. Saturate yourself with it. Be so well armed with knowledge of its details that you fear no opponent.

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Political speeches are usually begun with little knowledge of when the speaker's time will be up. Unless you are a veteran of the stump and can speak as long as you choose, you must be prepared to stop when the chairman wants you to. Say you will speak twenty minutes. If you mount the platform with enough material to speak for an hour, you will experience that confidence which a large bank balance always gives in a business adventure. A speaker who is well informed rarely fails to impress an audience with the feeling that he "knows what he is talking about", even though he uses but a small part of his store of facts. The feeling that your reserve is ample to the situation has a way of projecting itself into the consciousness of your hearers.

The campaign handbook furnishes a great mass of speech-building material. If you will note those portions which bear directly on the issue you have chosen, you

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will have enough material for the ordinary occasion. You should, however, keep a pocket note book in which to enter other information which appears in the newspapers, in the arguments of other speakers and in conversation. That sudden idea which usually comes at inopportune moments may be forgotten unless made note of.

We hear a great deal about extemporaneous speaking. Strictly speaking, there is no such thing. No speech worth the attention of an audience was ever delivered without some preparation. It may be that the speaker did not know that he was to be called upon; perhaps his subject was selected for him when he was introduced. If he makes an effective appeal under such circumstances it is only because he had given so much thought to the subject before that occasion that he is ready to present it at any moment.

Webster's greatest speech was his reply

to Hayne in the United States Senate. On that occasion, Webster had just completed an argument in the Supreme Court and entered the Senate chamber to find Hayne speaking on state sovereignty. Hayne immediately directed his arguments to Webster, and the latter, realizing that his position as the champion of the Union demanded that he take up the challenge, made reply. The result was that masterpiece of American oratory which ended with "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!" When an admirer complimented the great orator on his "extemporaneous" speech, Webster smiled and replied, "I have been preparing that speech all my life."

Selecting Material

The aim of all political speaking is to win votes. That may sound trite, but like many other fundamental truths, it is often lost sight of in the many elements which

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enter into a task as complicated as that of framing a political speech.

All elections hinge on the vote of a minority. At any stage in a campaign you can figure that nearly seventy-five per cent of the vote has already been cast. That is the party vote. Whether because of family traditions, office-holding, or other controlling influences, the average American voter supports one party year in and year out.

But there is a class of voters which cannot be counted on to vote the same ticket two years in succession. That class, judging from the elections of the past decade, is rapidly increasing. That minority is the so-called "independent vote." It is to gain this minority vote that political campaigns are made, that thousands of dollars are spent in hiring halls and bands and quartettes, in printing tons of literature and lithographs. To gain the support of this minority, candidates wear them-

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selves to the bone travelling from Maine to Oregon.

Now the task of the political speaker is two-fold,—to hold in line those who have come to a decision and to win over converts from the other side and from the independent class.

Many political speakers hearing applause night after night get the impression that they are talking to the entire electorate and that their cause has been won. The sum total of those who hear campaign speakers form but a small part of the electorate. And the average audience at any political meeting is composed largely of men and women who have already decided which way they will vote—in favor of the side you are representing. These adherents are usually noisy and are ready to express approval of almost anything you say for your cause. But do not forget that the small minority which sits there

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quietly, weighing the arguments of both parties, holds in its hand the victory.

Always keep in mind that minority. To win it over is your task. This does not mean that you must talk to it alone. To keep your supporters enthusiastic is half of your work. And the more enthusiasm you can arouse among the members of your own party, the more likely it is that the neutral or independent element, influenced by that enthusiasm, will follow your cause. Nothing is so contagious as enthusiasm. But to arouse it among your supporters alone is not enough. You must frame your talk so as to convince those who are wavering, those who "must be shown."

Do not hesitate to use the same material that others do. It is safe to assume that not five per cent of your audience has heard the other speaker. And if they have, it will do no harm to repeat a good argument. Nor is it necessary that you

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should change your speech every night. If you were to follow a presidential nominee about the country you would find that he gives practically the same speech day after day, with only such modifications as local conditions demand, despite the probability that a large portion of each audience has read the substance of his remarks long before he appears before them.

Before leaving the subject of selecting material, a few words should be said about attacking your opponents. You have probably heard the story of the policeman who broke into a house to rescue an Irish woman from the attacks of her drunken husband. He raised his club to strike the man, but before he could deliver the blow, he himself was floored by the wife.

The writer could never understand why the story was told of the Irish, because the point is in harmony with human nature the world over. If you want to ascertain

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the degree of attachment between two estranged friends, the very best method is to attack one in the hearing of the other. In your audience there are many wavering voters; some, perhaps, have been affiliated with the opposing party for many years. If you are too strong in your condemnation of his old party, you simply fan the slumbering flame of his former love and throw him back into her arms.

It ought not to be necessary to warn the speaker of today against mud-slinging. And yet, many popular speakers, tempted by the applause which such tactics usually draw from certain elements in the audience, continue to vilify opponents, unmindful of the fact that they are doing more harm than good. The average American demands fair play, and many a vote has been thrown to the opposition because of the sympathy aroused by personal attacks. And conversely, many a vote has been gained by respectful refer-

ence to those on the other side. If you cannot speak of an opponent without abusing him, don't mention him at all.

Framing the Speech

A good political speech is one which leaves a strong single impression. The effective speaker limits himself to one subject and covers that subject so well that nothing is desired when he closes. He hammers away at that one nail until it is driven beyond removal. He may change his position before every blow, but his aim is always the same, and when he connects with the nail, it sinks still further.

Follow this hammer and nail theory in your speaking. The psychology of this plan has been tested by the general scheme of modern advertising. Instead of spreading themselves over numerous arguments in favor of using their product, the manufacturers of a certain flour are content with but one slogan,—“Eventually, why

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not now?" That statement repeated countless times becomes so imbedded in the minds of the buying public that they believe it and, without stopping to compare it with other brands, buy it.

The aim of the military has always been the focus of all of the army's strength at that point along the battle lines where the enemy is weakest. By hurling all its strength at that point, the commander forces the enemy to abandon his attacks along other points of the line and to fight out the issue at the point of the commander's selection. So with a political campaign. Sharpen your talk down to a pointed appeal and then marshal all your strength behind it. The political history of America is full of instances where success has been due to a single idea repeated so often that it became a slogan of victory. In his fight to destroy the United States Bank, President Jackson met with tremendous opposition. He maintained the

bank was not sound; the figures compiled by his opponents showed otherwise. But Jackson hammered away with "The bank is broke and Biddle knows it" until the opposition weakened, wavered and finally crumbled. When touring the State of California in his first campaign for the governorship, Hiram W. Johnson closed every speech with this sentence,—

"Remember this, my friends: I am going to be the next Governor of California; and when I am, I am going to kick out of this government William F. Herrin and the Southern Pacific Railroad —Goodnight."

The effect of this prophecy repeated each night was well explained some years previous by the Irish orator, Daniel O'Connell:

"It is not by advancing a political truth once, or twice, or even ten times, that the public will take it up and finally accept it. Incessant repetition is required to im-

press political truths upon the public mind. Men, by always hearing the same things, insensibly associate them with received truisms. They find the facts at last quietly reposing in a corner of their minds, and no more think of doubting them if they formed part of their religious beliefs."

The same truth has been expressed more briefly by the famous Mr. Dooley,—“I belave annything at all, if ye only tell it to me often enough.”

Closely allied to the power of repetition is the power of suggestion. Suppose Hiram W. Johnson had asserted his prophecy but once. We can almost hear the laughs that greeted its first presentation. Many a skeptic said to himself “I’ll bet you won’t be the next governor of California.” But by repeating the prediction night after night, the idea gained a stronger hold and the doubt weakened. The power of suggestion lies not in direct assertion (which brings up doubts) but in indirect assertion

which gains the same result because by failing to make a direct blunt statement, the audience has no positive assertion with which to take issue. Perhaps the most masterful use of the power of suggestion occurred in the campaign of 1896. Mr. Bryan set out to create a widespread belief in McKinley's defeat. Had he merely asserted night after night "McKinley will be defeated", he would have undoubtedly been less successful in convincing that part of the electorate which voted for him. But instead of that blunt assertion, he employed suggestion. If you can forget the result of that election and project your imagination back to the year 1896, you can appreciate how effective were his words,—

"Mr. McKinley was the most popular man among the Republicans, and three months ago everybody in the Republican party prophesied his election. How is it today? Why the man who was once pleased

to think that he looked like Napoleon—that man shudders today when he remembers that he was nominated on the anniversary of the battle of Waterloo. Not only that, but as he listens he can hear with ever increasing distinctness the sound of the waves as they beat upon the lonely shore of St. Helena."

Making Yourself Understood

A great many speakers who know their subjects thoroughly fail to impress an audience because they do not express themselves in a simple manner. A man may work for days on a speech, polishing off every rough corner, selecting with painstaking care every word in it, and find when he delivers it that it arouses no more enthusiasm than the recital of a table in arithmetic. The trouble probably lies in the failure to take into consideration the understanding of the audience.

A speech must be so worded as to be

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understood by every one in the audience, word for word, sentence for sentence, as it is uttered. The hearer cannot, as he may in reading, go over and over a passage until he grasps the meaning. He must be able to understand every idea you express as he hears it, otherwise he becomes disinterested and relaxes his attention.

During the late war an interesting experiment was tried by Captain Joseph S. Buhler, U. S. A. He was placed in charge of that branch of the Four Minute Men's organization which sought to spur the war spirit of Americans and to offset German propaganda by importing wounded Allied soldiers to tell their experiences at the front to American audiences.

These heroes had been picked from the maimed survivors of many thrilling adventures, with no regard for their ability as speakers. From this standpoint they were well chosen; each had a tale that would send the shivers down the spine of the

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most savage warrior. In private conversation they could hold the attention of all. But when put upon the platform they often failed. Why? Because they failed to put forth their stories in a simple, straightforward, informal manner.

Part of the work of the Four Minute Men was to address children in the public schools. Captain Buhler took those who had failed to make good in the theatres and put them in the schoolhouses. Now the hardest individual to hold is the child. You must talk to him in his language or he will close his ears. You know this; everyone knows it. These veterans knew it and they immediately changed their manner to meet the situation. Speaking in a direct, simple fashion, they told their experiences in battle just as plainly as they would have done at home with their own youngsters on their knees. They never tried to imitate orators or lecturers; they merely told what they had seen and

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felt; and stopped. Needless to say, they made a great hit with the young folks.

After a week or two of speaking in the schools, these men were put back into the theatres with instructions to direct their remarks to the children in the audience. Having fallen into the style of speaking to young minds, they found it easy to continue in the same manner. And their success with audiences of grown-ups was even greater than it was with the children.

All of us are more or less children when collected into an assemblage. Our minds relax; we shun any task that requires sustained concentration. We want thoughts and ideas put so simply that we can grasp them with a minimum of mental effort.

Lincoln's success on the stump was mainly due to the simplicity with which he expressed himself. His language was so chosen as to leave nothing dark or cloudy; the most illiterate member of his

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audience understood him. We are told by his biographers that he used to practice his speeches in the barn before the chickens, in the hope that it would force him to reduce his arguments to such simple terms that even dumb animals would understand him. It was this simplicity of expression that enabled him to reach the minds of every man, woman and child of America during the great war of the rebellion. What, for instance, could be more appealing to the average citizen than the following:

“Gentlemen, I want you to suppose a case for a moment. Suppose that all the property you were worth was in gold, and you had put it in the hands of Blondin, the famous rope-walker, to carry across the Niagara Falls on a tight rope. Would you shake the rope while he was passing over it, or keep shouting to him, “Blondin, stoop a little more! Go a little faster!” No, I am sure you would not. You would

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hold your breath as well as your tongue, and keep your hand off until he was safely over. Now, the Government is in the same situation. It is carrying an immense weight across the stormy ocean. Untold treasures are in its hands. It is doing the best it can. Don't badger it! Just keep still and it will get you safely over."

Every speaker ought to practice his speeches aloud before a friend or even alone. He will find that his own ears are sometimes good critics. They will at least tell him whether his thoughts are as forceful in sound as they are on paper.

Whatever your audience, speak to it in its language; if you are talking to sailors, don't speak to them as you would to architects; don't address carpenters as you would lawyers.

Handling Figures

Most political speakers dodge the use of figures in a speech on the theory that

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no one ever got enthusiastic about arithmetic and certainly no political gathering ever will. But the electorate of today wants facts and figures as well as fireworks. Economy has been an issue in nearly every municipal and state election in the past decade. It is an ever-present problem in our national government. If, then, you must use figures, it is well to know how to present them in the most interesting and effective manner. The secret lies in presenting amounts and quantities in a form which can be visualized or appreciated by comparisons. By merely stating figures, the speaker neither interests nor does he make an impression which will last. But by a small degree of skill in using comparisons, he can make an amount appear stupendous or trifling. Let us consider a practical application of this method. During the war, a speaker was seeking to impress an audience with the tremendous cost of a day's supply of am-

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munition. He said that it cost the United States something like a million dollars a day for munitions alone. Now few of us have ever seen a million dollars or have a ready appreciation of what that amount means. So the speaker continued as follows:

"Think of it, ladies and gentlemen, one million dollars a day. If that sum were put into dollar bills and these bills placed end to end, it would reach from New York City to Albany. If stacked in quarter-dollars, it would make ten piles of the height of the Woolworth Building. It represents more than the daily earnings of an army of mechanics who, placed shoulder to shoulder, would reach from New York City to Philadelphia. It would buy enough food to keep alive one thousand families of five each. It would pay all the yearly expenses of a group of college students, which in single file would reach from one end of the Brooklyn

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Bridge to the other. This, gentlemen, is the cost of war."

Another speaker, attempting to offset the effect of these remarks replied as follows:

"A million dollars a day! That's a large sum, gentlemen and ladies, and I'm glad the government is not making me foot the whole bill. But is it as large as the previous speaker would have us believe? Remember there are one hundred million people in the United States and that means but one cent a piece. Is that large? We spend nearly that amount daily for gum. Let every man, woman and child stop chewing and the amount saved would be the same. Let every housekeeper peel the daily potatoes a little more carefully, and the amount would be saved. Let every individual be careful of throwing away lighted matches, and the amount saved in prevented fires would more than double the sum. Let every worker add five min-

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utes to his daily toil and the value of increased production would more than make up for the cost. The sum is not large, and when we consider the wealth of America, it is not worth worrying about."

LOCAL COLOR

An audience will usually exhibit as much interest in a speaker as the speaker does in it. A county official stumped the Borough of Brooklyn, New York City, as a candidate for re-election. He was a very poor speaker and knew very little about the politics of the county. After a week or two of unsuccessful campaigning, this candidate appealed to his secretary (a well-known figure in local politics) for assistance. After that appeal the secretary accompanied his chief wherever he went to speak. Before each speech, the official held a short conversation with his assistant, and this is how he opened his talk, — “Ladies and Gentlemen; I am glad to be in the . . . assembly district and to speak to the friends and neighbors of (mentioning the most prominent man in the locality).” This introductory sentence never failed to gain applause, and the

audience would settle down to hear him with that kindly feeling that always greets a man who has something in common with it.

Many seasoned campaigners make it a point to learn all they can about a locality before addressing it. It was said of Roosevelt that he often impressed an audience as knowing more about their local affairs than most of the neighboring politicians. Few of us are possessed of a memory or a capacity for details to compare with Roosevelt's. But all of us can at least acquaint ourselves with enough matters of local interest to convince an audience that we are interested in them. It never fails to pay.

The locality in which you speak might affect your speech in any one or more of four ways. First, you should advance those arguments or points which have a special reference to the people to whom you talk. If you are attacking a national

administration for extravagance, don't tell the people of California about the cost of building a public building in New Jersey if you can show the extravagance of improving the harbor of San Francisco. Second, you might mention local personalities either by way of aiding their candidacies or by attacking them as the opponents of your party. The latter, however, should be approached with great care and only after obtaining the approval of local leaders. Third, you can arouse the interest of a locality by speaking of their needs and ambitions. Nearly every section of the country has some pet aspiration which is closely interwoven with its political thinking. Fourth, if you use illustrations to strengthen or ornament your arguments, use local objects. Were you addressing the voters of Duluth, Minnesota, on the subject of "Disarmament and War", you would make little impression by telling them that the last war meant

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a death list of seventy thousand Americans. But if you said that the number killed in the Great War from the American ranks alone was more than sufficient to repopulate the City of Duluth, your point would not only mean something, but it would add interest to your argument.

These are only suggestions, but they point to a positive method of increasing your chances for success. A little experience in applying them will bring to mind other ways by which you can command the attention and good will of your audiences.

SOMETHING TO TAKE HOME

The woman who first conceived the idea of giving her dinner guests favors was a shrewd hostess. She realized that an evening of enjoyment is soon forgotten unless linked with something which will recall the event to mind.

The Democratic convention of 1896 was swept off its feet by Bryan's "Cross of Gold" speech. It is doubtful whether there is another instance in American history which furnishes such a dramatic illustration of the power of oratory in politics. One of the delegates who attended that convention and who was carried into the clouds by that burst of oratory was unable, when he reached his hotel after the session, to give a single argument or point which the gifted Commoner had presented. All he recalled was the scene and the overpowering emotions which that masterpiece stirred up.

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The political speaker must remember that only a small part of the electorate in any district will hear him. And of that part, a large majority is composed of men and women who are already won over to his cause. In order to get the greatest results, he must not only impress the independent minority but he should also give them as well as his adherents some thought or argument to take home,—some slogan or story which they will recall long after the general impression has faded from memory, something which can be repeated to friends and neighbors with telling effect.

In the Fall of 1919, there were two county judgeships to be filled from four candidates in the County of Kings, New York. One of these candidates was Judge Norman S. Dike who was running for re-election in what appeared to be a very close fight. The many friends of the judge sent out scores of speakers into every elec-

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tion district in the county. At one meeting, at which the audience numbered two hundred, four men spoke for him. Three of them spent their allotted time in general praise, mentioning his fine record, his eminent fitness for the office and his excellent reputation as a man. The fourth man used but four minutes. His speech included this story,—

“Last year a committee of citizens of this Borough called upon the Police Commissioner of this City to protest against the small number of policemen assigned to duty here. They proved to him that in proportion to its population Brooklyn had less officers of the law to guard its people and property than any other borough in the City. The Commissioner listened very courteously and replied with a smile, ‘It is true that Brooklyn has less policemen than the other smaller boroughs, but that is because you need less. Why, you have a county judge who is known to every

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criminal in the east. They always dodge Brooklyn for that reason. No, as long as Judge Dike sits on the bench, you don't need any more cops.' "

That audience forgot all the fine things that were said about Judge Dike but that short story. But they remembered that and what is more they repeated it countless times to their friends and neighbors during the remaining days of the campaign. In the opinion of the author, that story repeated before many audiences had more effect in re-electing Judge Dike than all the other efforts of his speaking friends combined.

OPENING AND CLOSING

Victor Murdock once said, apropos of making a good speech, "Get a good beginning and a good ending; stuff it with whatever you please." This statement was not intended to be taken literally; you cannot stuff the middle of any speech with mediocre material and make it impressive. But the remark does give point to the great truth that the most important parts of any talk are the beginning and the ending.

To the political speaker the problem of opening an address presents two points of consideration. First, he must secure attention; second, he must not antagonize any portion of his audience.

Securing attention is an ever present consideration in the mind of a speaker. He probably gives more thought to the subject matter of his first sentences than he does to any other part of the address.

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Unless he succeeds in focusing the attention of his hearers upon himself from the start, he wages an uphill fight. Every man has his own individual ideas about the method to be employed, but he may well be aided by a few suggestions.

Nothing is more effective in beginning than a good story in point. I said "in point" because it is always possible to tell a story provided you are not limited to relevant ones. But if your story is merely told to gain attention and has no connection with what follows, your audience will turn away from you just as quickly as it deserts the street faker who gathers a crowd by some alluring device and then presents some cheap notion in which no one is interested. The story need not be political; in fact, it is better to take it from some other field of human interest. The latter course has the advantage of introducing a refreshing subject.

A good quotation taken from the

speeches or writings of some well-known man or woman is an excellent opener. People are always interested in the words of a great personage. And in quoting the words of a great man you command some of the respect that your hearers hold for that man. Very few of the opponents of the League of Nations failed to quote Washington's advice regarding entangling alliances. Here again, your quotation must have a close connection with what follows, otherwise you will lose more than you gain by its use.

Above all, your opening remarks should be interesting. A startling statement rarely fails to secure attention. The preceding speaker has probably left the audience in a satisfied, complacent mood. Unless you present something unusual it is difficult to transfer their thoughts from him to you.

Humor is always refreshing, particularly when the previous speaker has aroused

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them to a pitch of excitement on some intensely serious issue.

Long introductions should always be avoided. Modern life is too rapid and strenuous to tolerate the man who cannot begin a speech without tracing the history of the world from the fall of Adam. With this in mind, many experienced speakers save time by stating at the beginning what they intend to talk about and, in many instances, outline the main points of the address.

You can never know what will be the temper or mood of your hearers when you begin. For this reason it is an excellent plan to prepare yourself with three or four kinds of openings, so that you will be ready for any emergency. If, then, you find yourself talking to an audience which has not been aroused by many pyrotechnical speeches, you can select the opening which best fits your speech as a whole. And if you follow an inspired orator who has

stirred them to the depths, a most trying position for a beginning speaker, you will not be embarrassed by the necessity of digressing from your original plan in order to meet the psychology of the moment. When in such a position, do not show your fears of losing the crowd. It is likely that you will be discouraged by the stream of men and women leaving the hall. Do not hasten your opening. It will gain you nothing. Haste at such a time usually adds to the confusion and strengthens the decision to go.

The second consideration in framing the beginning of your speech is equally important. Remember that your purpose is not merely to furnish opportunities for enthusiastic outbursts from your supporters. You must also convert the so-called independent who forms a larger part of the audience than his silence would indicate. He probably hears both sides. If your opening remarks are too partisan

from his viewpoint, he will close his ears to the rest of your speech.

Every issue presents common ground. After all, every voter has or thinks he has the same interest at heart—the welfare of his country. It is a simple matter to begin a speech in a manner which will appeal to the fairness of all. From such a beginning you can gradually turn to your side of the issue in a way that will carry the independent as well as the partisan with you.

Few speakers of experience fail to take advantage of the possibilities of opening on neutral ground. Sometimes, however, a hostile audience is best met by an initial “blow between the eyes.” A classical example of such an opening may well be given here.

In the national campaign of 1900, Theodore Roosevelt, then a candidate for Vice-President, was sent into Nebraska, the home of Bryan and Free Silver. The

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press of that State commented at length on the folly of his speaking there and the first audience he addressed assembled more from a spirit of curiosity than because of any friendliness. How could he speak without mentioning the monetary issue, and how could he mention that issue without arousing the antagonism of all present? A death-like silence greeted his arrival. He broke the tension with these words, biting off each syllable with characteristic precision,—

“Ladies and Gentlemen:—The Republican Party stands for the Gold Standard; and it stands for the Gold Standard in the State of Nebraska just as it stands for the Gold Standard in the State of New York.”

A handful applauded, many burst into tears; all remained until he had finished his speech. At no time did he receive appreciable applause, but a member of that audience subsequently stated that the res-

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spectful silence with which they heard him was nothing short of a reverential tribute such as is rarely paid to living heroes.

Of all the impressions made by a speaker the very last is most likely the one which remains uppermost in recollection. If it is weak, it may destroy all the good effect previously gained; if it is strong, it will probably draw to its level all the mediocrity of what has been said in the body of the speech.

The ideal ending is one which summarizes everything which has been said and couples with that summary a compelling appeal to vote for the ticket or the candidate for whom you are speaking. This appeal may take the form of a flowery picture of what the victory of your cause will bring or it may be clothed in a good story or quotation. Unless the whole tone of your speech is humorous, never end in anything but a serious fashion.

Most political speakers must time their

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efforts to the particular occasion on which they appear. It is the frequent experience of junior campaigners to be interrupted by the applause which greets the entrance of a well-known figure. Then he must stop or try the patience of his audience by continuing. Better that he wind up his speech as soon as he can without making the ending too sharp or abrupt. This ever-present danger can only be met by a most thorough preparation for it. After you have gained your stride, never turn into a long stretch which will require considerable time to cover. So plan your speech that you can end it with a flourish on a minute's notice.

Webster spent many hours on the preparation of his speeches. His command of language was so masterful that he rarely paid any attention to the exact words to be employed in expressing any particular part of it. But he always worked out and memorized a strong closing paragraph.

THE PLACE OF STORIES AND HUMOR

In one respect we never cease to be children. Rarely does a man or woman reach that age or condition where he or she loses the appetite for a good story. Americans as a class are particularly fond of this form of mental activity; for it they are known the world over.

The psychological effect of bringing together a number of people into a body which focuses its attention on one of its number is to carry each back to that period of life when simple things held and amused. When in the theatre we laugh at many things which would be unheeded if we were alone; we are interested in little acts which only a child would watch unaccompanied.

Story-telling has always been a popular seasoning with the public speaker. It serves many purposes. First, it brings

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together every ray of attention. Second, it rests an audience by enabling it to follow the speaker with a minimum of mental effort. Third, it enables the speaker to clarify or strengthen an idea in a very effective manner.

It can, however, be overdone—and frequently is. But most political speakers use it very little—to their own loss. Nothing will brighten a speech, particularly a long one, so well as two or three well told stories in point. If they are suitable to the occasion and you are able to tell them, by all means do so. But if your stories have no connection or a weak one, do not waste time trying to link them up with the subject matter of your talk. Nothing harms a speaker's reputation like a story dragged in by the ears.

Stories may or may not be humorous. The humorous story has the added advantage of refreshing the audience. The world likes to laugh and that part of it

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which you are addressing is ever ready for a good joke.

A Republican, addressing an audience in Vermont, attacked the Democratic administration for its "Buy a bale of cotton" movement. The frequent interruptions by way of heckling indicated that his hearers did not agree with him. The resentment became so audible that the speaker was forced to change his plans. His next remark was to the effect that the next Democratic slogan would be "Eat a bale of cotton." Everyone joined in the hearty laugh. The speaker continued his humorous attack without any further interruptions.

This incident well illustrates the temper of an American audience. If you attack a movement or a man whom they like, they might hoot you from the platform. But you can go a great way with ridicule and burlesque and they will enjoy it, even though your humor is aimed at their idol.

If you are opposing a candidate whose popularity is too strong for an attack, your best weapon is humor. A clever use of this method was made by Mr. Hughes in the campaign of 1916. The unofficial role of Col. House in the administration had been the subject of much comment. Of course, there was nothing in his relations with the President which would warrant any serious attack on either. In reply to an attack on himself, Mr. Hughes added, "But I say with entire good humor that I believe in government by two houses and not by three."

Americans take their politics rather seriously and it is this seriousness which calls for relief through humor. The parties are always looking for men like Senator Depew and Job E. Hedges to aid in a speaking campaign. Their usefulness was unconsciously appraised by Mr. Hedges himself. Running for governor of New York in 1912, he opened an address in

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these words, "They say that the Republicans have nominated a joker for governor (referring to himself). Well, the joker is the best card in the pack."

HINTS ON DELIVERY

Confidence and Earnestness

*Write on your doors the saying wise
and old,*

*"Be bold! be bold!" and everywhere—
"Be bold;*

*Be not too bold!" Yet better the excess
Than the defect; better the more than
less;*

*Better like Hector in the field to die,
Than like a perfumed Paris turn and
fly.*

—LONGFELLOW.

We hear a great deal about men who succeed on "nerve" alone, men who are always "getting away with something". There may be men who bluff their way into success; there may be such a thing

as luck that lifts one man above the heads of others who are abler than he is. But one thing is certain,—those who complain about “bluff” and “nerve” are usually the unsuccessful, and their opinions are to be regarded accordingly.

Wherever we put the dividing line between bluff and courage, there is no denying the fact that few men have succeeded without a deep-seated belief in themselves. No speaker ever convinced others unless he exhibited an abiding confidence in himself and his judgment. Nothing in a campaign is so effective as an attitude of trust in the success of the party and its candidates. “Fortune”, said Sophocles, “never helps the man whose courage fails”; it does even less for the party whose confidence lags or weakens.

Always assume that your side will be successful. It not only wins over the man who wants to “get on the band-wagon”, it also eats away the courage of your op-

ponents. The whole world may love a lover, but it, at least that part of it living in the United States, idolizes a fighter of courage. But self-confidence is as far from boastfulness as chivalry is from savagery. Extravagant prophecy or excessive self-confidence often links the speaker with the dreamer whose beliefs are the children of his fancy. The confidence that carries conviction never runs wild. It sometimes uses suggestion. Mr. Bryan repeated his assertion about McKinley and Waterloo every night of the campaign, and it undoubtedly had its effect. Senator Hiram W. Johnson's prophecy was shorn of boastfulness by the addition of his intention to "kick out" William F. Herrin and the Southern Pacific Railroad.

Successful campaigners never spare their earnestness and enthusiasm, even when speaking of a minor issue. No campaign and no issue in any campaign was ever treated lightly by Roosevelt. If a

fight was worth his participation, it was worth every ounce of earnestness he possessed, and he spent it lavishly. When, in the summer of 1910, while swinging "around the circle" in an effort to strengthen the support of the progressives in Congress, he addressed an audience in Utica, New York, his attention was called to the fight being made against the renomination of Senator Frederick M. Davenport. In the middle of his speech on "New Nationalism", he launched into a paragraph of praise for Senator Davenport and his stand on direct primaries and other state issues. So earnest was his appeal for Davenport that when the speech was completed and the Colonel was leaving, the crowd called for Davenport. He was renominated.

Whatever your subject, be it disarmament or the election of your candidate for town clerk, deliver it with all the earnestness and enthusiasm that your soul can muster.

Speaking to the Eye

The eye is a hungry animal—a great deal more so than the ear. That is why a janitor closing a window can take the attention of an audience from a great orator. A cat or dog straying across a stage spells disaster for any theatrical performance. This fact gives rise to many suggestions for holding the eye as well as the ear of your hearers.

Have you ever heard a good speech read? Probably not. The reason why it rarely succeeds is that the audience is just as much interested in the personality and appearance of the speaker as it is in what he says; and what he says is always interpreted by the manner and motions which accompany it. It is safe to assume that no stump speaker will attempt to read a speech. But he often does other things which have a similar effect. Carrying a manuscript or a sheet of notes in the hand

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or permitting them to protrude conspicuously from a pocket tends to distract attention from what is said. An article of clothing which stands out from the rest of the attire weakens the focus that you would have the audience give to your gestures and facial expression. If possible, speak from a platform free from other speakers and attractive objects. The slightest motion on the part of an individual seated near you may break the concentration of the audience.

The movies and other spectacular attractions have accustomed us to such a high degree of visual satisfaction that the modern speaker must feed the eye as well as the ear. Gestures, facial expression, posture and carriage on a platform are merely elements of that silent appeal. All are parts of the speaking body which must be kept awake and alive. The speaker who allows his muscular body to sleep while he talks has little more chance of holding his

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audience than a drama produced on a darkened stage.

Speaking to All Parts of the House

As previously stated, an audience is as much interested in the man as it is in the speech. If you doubt it, obstruct the vision of some persons in the auditorium or hall and see how quickly they will complain. They not only want to see the speaker, but they want him to look at and speak directly to them. It is, of course, a physical impossibility to speak to all parts of the audience at the same time. But it is a simple and proper practice to direct some part of your talk to a specific part of the meeting place,—the boxes, the balcony, the gallery and even to those who are seated on the platform behind you, if such is the arrangement. The latter part of the audience always received a few sentences from Theodore Roosevelt. The effect was so favorable that it is surprising

that more political speakers do not imitate the practice.

What to Memorize

Many beginning speakers memorize their speeches word for word, a practice which persisted in will greatly limit the possibilities of their development. There are three good reasons why a speech should not be memorized. First, only a skillful actor can do it and conceal it. When an audience detects it, its respect for the speaker is diminished. There is a subconscious feeling that you are not speaking from your heart; perhaps someone wrote it for you and you are merely the phonograph. Second, if you have memorized a speech, you must spend a certain amount of energy—usually considerable—in recalling while speaking the exact words you intended. This energy should be free to expend on the delivery. Relying on your memory, you are ever conscious of

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the danger of forgetting; and if you do, your confidence will suffer regardless of whether you are able to extemporize until you pick up the thread of your chosen words. In the third place, the practice will prevent the development of that ability, so highly to be prized, of thinking while on your feet. The ability to put present thoughts into appropriate language can only be gained by repeated practice in doing that very thing. And the longer you persist in memorizing speeches, the harder it becomes to start anew on the proper course.

“But”, says the novice, “unless I memorize my speech, how can I go upon the platform with any degree of confidence in my chances of remembering what I want to say?” There is some point in that question. Without memorizing, you must be content at the start to bear the handicaps of poorly chosen words, hesitant groping for language and frequent pauses. But

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these obstacles are only temporary; every additional attempt will find you more confident and fluent.

Most speakers of experience memorize the outline of their speeches. A well prepared talk can usually be summarized by four or five sentences. Each sentence has a key word. Memorize these words in their proper sequence and you have the outline in hand regardless of whether you have difficulty in expressing each idea in appropriate phrases. Take, for instance, a speech which was delivered against our entrance into the League of Nations when that issue was before the United States Senate. The four main arguments which the speaker used could have been summarized in the following sentences,—

1. The League entangles us in foreign affairs, a situation which Washington and all our foremost statesmen warned against.

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2. The League does not give America sufficient representation in its councils.
3. The League makes us responsible for peoples in whom we have little interest and over whom we would not care to exercise control.
4. In order to carry out our obligations as a member of the League, we would be compelled to maintain a large standing army.

Now the first sentence may be reduced to the word "Washington". His name in connection with the subject arouses our recollection of his warning against foreign alliances. The second sentence can be summarized in the word "votes". The Fiume incident suggests the thought of the third sentence, so we take the word "Fiume". "Army" is sufficient for the fourth. Putting the four words together we have "Washington votes Fiume army". It

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does not make much sense—it need not. But it is easily remembered, and remembered, it links the whole speech together so that the speaker can go from one part to another without fear of losing the sequence.

This is but one of many methods of holding the outline of a speech in mind. Mark Twain, who found public speaking very difficult until he solved the problem of speaking without notes, used to associate each subdivision of his lecture with some object in the room. Your imagination will suggest many other methods. Any scheme which works is good, but above all, do not carry notes.

THE HECKLER

The late Inez Milholland Boissevain was once interrupted by a man with this question, "Mrs. Boissevain, don't you wish you were a man?" "I do", she replied, "and don't you wish you were?"

The retort was not very kind, but that greatest of nuisances, the heckler, deserves anything, verbal or physical, which his conduct provokes. He is usually of a low type of mentality, actuated by destructive motives and encouraged by only the basest elements in our political parties.

The speaker who answers a heckler usually does so for one of two reasons. First, he feels that his position as a champion of a party or candidate demands that he answer all questions. Second, he hopes to add to his prestige by outwitting an opponent. As to the first, he is clearly wrong. The majority of the audience is more than friendly to the speaker. It has

assembled to hear him speak and not debate with any self-appointed opponent. Moreover, it has no interest in the heckler. Its regard for him is usually one of contempt and impatience. "How much are you getting for this speech?" asked a man of W. Bourke Cockran, and the latter snapped back, "How much are you getting to interrupt me?" That retort might well have been uttered by a member of the audience.

The second reason for recognizing a heckler, the desire to gain by the exchange of wit, is too dangerous. Unless you are a master of repartee, the chances are that you will not so completely squelch your man as to gain by it. Once engaged, you must continue the give-and-take or you will appear defeated. And even with an even break, you lose — both in personal prestige and by the digression from your speech.

The better rule is to ignore all hecklers.

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If he persists in his questioning, the audience will dispose of him by physical force if necessary. Then you have lost nothing. If, later in your speech, you can think of a retort which fits into the trend of your argument, put it in and direct it to the heckler. You have then accomplished your purpose, with dignity and without encouraging further interruption.

If, however, the question is such that you can make a point by a quick reply, do not pass up the opportunity. Frequently a hostile audience or one which is only half friendly may be won over by a clever retort such as Roscoe Conkling made in a speech in Utica, New York, during the days when slavery was a burning issue.

"Mr. Conkling", piped a shrill voice from the gallery, "do you believe that a white man should marry a colored woman?"

"Will the man who asked that question

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please rise and repeat it?" answered Conkling. There was nothing to do but comply with the request. After a second's visual appraisal, the speaker smilingly replied,

"My little man, if the woman hasn't any objection, I haven't."

SPEAKING OUTDOORS

Speaking in the open is both disagreeable and difficult, but it offers one of the best opportunities to the campaigner to attain the prime aim—the conversion of votes. It is difficult and disagreeable because of the counter attractions, the noise, the fact that the audience is always changing, the prevalence of hecklers and the strain on the voice. But you meet there all types of political thinkers and many of them would never hear your arguments were you to confine your activities to halls and auditoriums.

You must accept the counter attractions and the noise as you tolerate the petty annoyances of daily existence. You can minimize the turn-over of your audience by observing those virtues of speaking that hold the attention. Tell many stories, but no long ones. Make each argument brief and right to the point. Never relax into

a digression. Speak in language so simple that the smallest child in the street can understand you. Begin on neutral ground and maintain an attitude of fairness toward your opponents.

Here you must adopt different tactics in dealing with the heckler. He probably represents a larger portion of the audience than the man who interrupts your speech indoors. If you can squelch him by a quick retort, do so. If you cannot, treat him courteously. An attitude of fairness toward him might strengthen an otherwise weak position. You are not there, however, to hold a joint debate with every comer. Never answer more than one question asked by any one man or from any one part of the audience. As soon as you have replied to one interruption, turn to another sector of the audience. The latter practice tends to decrease interruptions and to prevent any one portion of the audience from monopolizing your attention to the

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exclusion and dissatisfaction of the other. Nothing will break up an outdoor audience more quickly than a situation which confines the attention of the speaker to one small portion of it. If you are beset with too many interruptions, say that you would like to answer all questions as they arise, but that in fairness to those who want to hear you, it is requested that they withhold their questions until you have completed your speech, when you will be glad to meet them all. This strikes the average citizen as a fair proposition. It usually solves the problem. And if it does not silence the hecklers, it is more than likely that the audience will. When you have finished your speech, you will find few to question you. And if there are any, you can meet them aside and discuss the question man to man, while your successor takes the stump. When speaking in a neighborhood where heckling is common, many speakers scatter their co-

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workers through the audience for the purpose of engaging the heckler as soon as he speaks.

The strain on the voice in outdoor speaking is very well known by those who have attempted it. It is due, not as commonly supposed to the night air, but to the necessity of making yourself heard above the noise and without the aid of the acoustic properties of a hall or auditorium; and also to the lack of knowledge as to whether you are using your voice in a proper manner. With walls to throw back the sound, it is easy to detect the unnatural tones which injure the muscles of the throat. Outside, you must rely on the opinion of those who hear you. Station a friend at the outskirts of the circle. Let him signal you as to the carrying power of your voice and as to whether, in his opinion, you are using unnatural tones. It is the only method of conserving your voice.

MAKING YOUR CANDIDATE POPULAR

"I have no politics, I vote for the best man," is a common utterance among voters. It represents a large part of our political thinking. Many veterans of the political game assert that if the issues in any campaign could be wholly divorced from the personalities who champion them, the number of votes cast would be very small. When we consider how few men and women take the trouble to vote on proposed amendments to our state constitutions, there seems to be little to say against the theory that the electorate is much more interested in the officials it chooses than the policies for which they stand.

Many political speakers engage in a campaign merely to aid the cause of some local candidate for an administrative or judicial office in which policies play no part. For such a campaigner, the problem

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of how to make his candidate the most popular man in the field is the important task.

The extensive use of such simple posters as "Vote for Smith for Governor", "Keep Judge Williams on the Bench", "Elect Wirth Alderman", proves the value of keeping a candidate's name before the public. General praise of a man and his abilities from the stump does the same thing. But the electorate hears and sees so much of that, is flooded by so much literature and advertising, that it demands something more from the political speaker. Give them an intimate knowledge of the candidate, show them a "close-up" of the human man. One simple story of the man's life which brings out the characteristics which the public desires in a public official will accomplish more than hours of flowery eulogy.

In the campaign of 1920, hardly a day passed in which the dailies did not print on

the front sheet, some anecdote in the life of Senator Harding and Governor Cox. The cold, calculating voter may not be interested in whether Senator Harding was born in a log cabin or whether Governor Cox began life as a printer. But the public generally enjoys reading these "human-interest" stories about their next President, and that is why the publication of these news items was encouraged by the supporters of the two candidates. They serve to bring home to the American voters the human sides of their candidates. By reading these little stories, the public becomes acquainted with the men apart from their politics; and long before election has come, they will speak of them with an intimacy that would indicate a life-long friendship.

Many men and women who never saw Theodore Roosevelt speak of him and his career as they would of a member of their family. Nothing he did escaped the press,

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and each fresh incident in his strenuous life gave him a larger place in the hearts of his countrymen.

Every candidate is human; each has some feature of character or ability which, made known, will win him greater consideration in the minds of the voters. If you would make your candidate popular, study his life, his character and his accomplishments, and present the facts on the stump with all the color and details that truth and the occasion permit.

KEEPING ABREAST OF THE BATTLE LINES

The lines of a political fight, like those of a battle, are subject to constant change. The issues remain the same, unless the candidates add new ones, but the points of contact are constantly shifting from one phase of an issue to another.

The political speaker should keep abreast of the lines, so that he can direct his efforts where they are most needed and meet the demands of the independent voter that follows the campaign day to day. Something more than daily reading of the newspapers is necessary. The press, or that small part of it which does not print its feelings rather than the facts, tries to hold up the mirror to the real situation. But it frequently misinterprets the thoughts of the electorate.

Two other checks should be added to newspaper reading. First, keep in touch

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with the local political organization in charge of speakers. It can give you the latest news from headquarters; it has means of advising you on all new methods of attack and defense. Second, attend meetings held by the opposition. Unless you know the arguments and tactics of your opponents, how are you going to make the most effective appeal to the man who does?

KEEPING FIT

Daily campaigning means an intense strain on your mental and physical powers—strong men have been known to crack under it. In order to make a strong fight and to maintain its vigor up to the close of the campaign, you must conserve what energy you can and keep in the best physical condition.

The mental strain, particularly to the candidate, is not easily relieved. The man running for office makes the fight of his life, throwing aside every other interest for the time. This concentration of all one's mental energies can be carried too far. When the mind is engaged on one subject day in and day out to the exclusion of all others, the brain is likely to become "jumpy" and the judgment warped. It was this very thing that brought about the downfall of Senator La Follette's candidacy for the presidency in

1912. One bitter attack on the press, made in a condition of nervous exhaustion, scattered a following that had been gathered in months of campaigning. Roosevelt was accustomed to carrying a small library on his speaking tours. Parts of each day were given to the study of subjects far from the field of politics. Such a practice is almost as beneficial to the mind as sleep. While engaged in matters outside the campaign, the mental muscles used in speaking and political thinking have an opportunity to repair themselves; then when we return to the all important subject, we can attack it with renewed vigor. Above all, do not take your political problems to bed with you. Thinking in bed means worry and worry destroys everything it touches.

The state of your physical condition is usually reflected by the quality of your thinking. An alert, combative mind is rarely found in a sickly body. If you

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would keep your mind fit, you must maintain a high standard of health.

You have probably learned as much about your body and how to keep it fit as any physician. It is well, nevertheless, to call attention to a few points regarding health. The stomach, of course, should receive the first consideration. Only foods easily digested should be eaten and eaten slowly. Refrain from intense application immediately after a meal. Smoking before eating tends to excite the nerves and to impair appetite and digestion. Excessive smoking is very harmful to the throat and voice. Keep the bowels open. If you feel nervous or too energetic on retiring, take a hot bath and drink a glass of warm milk. A sleepless night in bed is as bad as working all night.

Some men are blessed with strong voices which can not only carry to all parts of a huge auditorium but also stand continued use without any noticeable tiring. But

with the average speaker preserving the voice is always a problem. The trouble lies not so much with any inherent weakness in the vocal organs as with their improper use. If the speaker would fill his lungs from the bottom up, as a bottle is filled, instead of throwing the air into the apex of the lungs—if he allowed the throat and jaw to relax and made the tongue form the sounds—if he threw the voice against the upper front teeth and thereby made use of the nasal cavity as a sounding board instead of forcing the sound with the muscles of the throat, he would never be troubled with loss of voice, even if he spoke eight hours a day. But unless you have already learned the proper use of the voice, you are going to be too busy to learn the art from the bottom up for this campaign. The thing that interests you now is how, assuming that you use your voice incorrectly, you can make it last throughout the campaign.

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Much can be done by preventing slight colds. When you rise in the morning, exercise the muscles of your neck for two or three minutes. Roll it around, bend it in every possible direction—it won't break. After your bath, dash cold water on your neck and chest. This daily habit will harden the muscles of your throat to the point where it will stand the most inclement weather; it has cured many cases of chronic sore throat.

You have seen many advertisements setting forth the wonderful powers of certain lozenges and throat sprays. Many of them are accompanied by the pictures and testimonials of opera singers and actors. If half of them are true, it is a wonder how many of our stage celebrities find time to do anything but try cures and write testimonials. The late Dr. H. Holbrook Curtis, throat specialist, was consulted by nearly all the concert singers in New York as well as by prominent speak-

ers and among them Roosevelt. He usually prescribed voice exercises, the most common of which was humming the scale up and down.

How many times have we envied the speaker with the rich, resonant voice that seemed to fill the room like a church organ. You can acquire some of that resonance if you will but make use of the human sounding board,—the nasal cavity. That undesirable tone of voice which we call “speaking through the nose” is the result of closing the air passage between the back of the mouth and the nose. When we open up this passage and use the sounding board, the effect is similar to that of talking in a rain barrel.

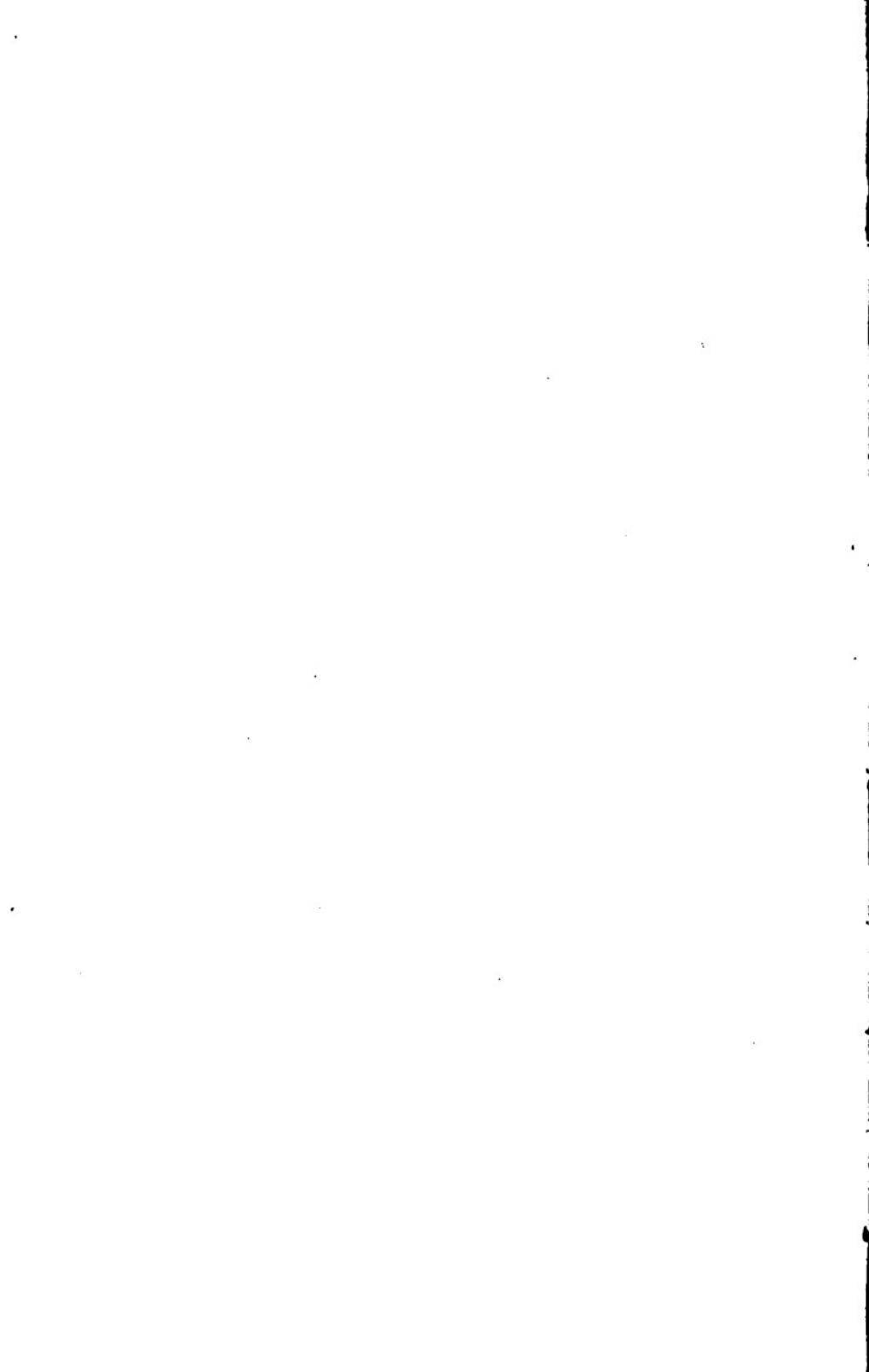
A great deal can be accomplished in this direction by keeping open the air passages which connect the mouth, nose and ears. Wax in the ears and dust in the nose and nasal cavity rob the voice of the bell-like ring just as rags in a cornet muf-

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fle its tones. A little salt and water gently snuffed up in the morning and a weekly application of warm water and soda to the ears will be of great help to the voice.

Professor Robert J. Hughes, the voice specialist, prescribes a very simple exercise for encouraging the proper use of the voice in speaking. A few seconds given to it two or three times a day, immediately before speaking if possible, will prove its value. Take a deep breath and hum "min-im" continuously, prolonging the m's and n's.

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THE WORK OF THE SPEAKERS' BUREAU

The effectiveness of a speaking campaign in any locality rests to a considerable extent with the committee in charge of the speakers' bureau. Its duties are similar to those of a sales manager, but rarely does a political committee in this activity attain the standard of efficiency maintained by even a semi-successful business enterprise. As conducted, most speakers' bureaus are merely clearing houses for applicants.

Some conductors of political gatherings seem to work on the theory of managers of vaudeville houses,—the more speakers the merrier! One good speaker with a well prepared speech is infinitely more effective than a dozen who merely say "I'm glad to be here" and then run to the next meeting. Of course, one of the main purposes of a political gathering is to enable

the electorate to see and hear the candidates. But if the evening can be so arranged that those who merely appear as exhibits will speak first so as to allow the real campaigner to have the floor long enough to make a real speech, the results would be far greater.

More attention should be paid to the development of new speakers. Every district club has half a dozen men who have the makings of effective campaigners. If the county committee would co-operate with all the local organizations in encouraging young men to train for the stump, there would never be a dearth of speakers. Every county or assembly district should maintain a school for ambitious political workers. It takes courage to make the first political speech and many men of promising capabilities are prevented from developing into useful workers because of the failure to provide a training camp where they can find themselves and attain

that degree of self-confidence without which they hesitate to take the first step. One night a week for a period of four months will accomplish much toward giving poise and necessary polish. That there is no more fascinating activity than the study of public speaking is evidenced by the popularity of the Y. M. C. A. Course in "Public Speaking", even among those who have no intention of using the art on a platform.

The dearth of speakers in a campaign frequently results in sending out untried and unknown volunteers to address noon-day gatherings of men and women in sections of the community where the most enlightened portions of the electorate are found. Such a practice is most dangerous; one crank, charged with only prejudices and fallacies, can turn more votes from his cause than a host of experienced workers can convert to it.

Arranging the program for any given meeting should receive the highest consideration, not only in the selection of the speakers but in the variety and assignment of subjects. How many audiences are wearied by a succession of speakers repeating the same arguments on the same issues.

The most encouraging argument for the future of political speaking in the United States is the business-like attitude with which our newly-enfranchised women undertake their work in a campaign. Whether because of inherent thoroughness or because of the consciousness that to them political speaking is a new art which must be learned from the bottom up, many organizations of women have gone about the task of equipping their members for the platform in a very scientific fashion. They have formed schools for the training of speakers; they invite experienced campaigners to address them on points of ap-

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peal and their cross examination of a veteran convinces him of the intensity of their ambition and determination to make their speaking fruitful.

QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is not designed as a guide in building a speech, but merely as a series of checks on the speech as prepared.

Subject.

1. Just what do you aim to accomplish by this speech? Can you summarize your purpose in one compact sentence?
2. Are you trying to cover too much ground? Can you make your point in the allotted time?
3. Are you sure that you are within the issues of the campaign? If not, are you justified in digressing from them?
4. Is your subject of vital interest to the audience you will address? If not, can you make them interested in it?

5. Are you thoroughly familiar with every angle of your subject? Are you prepared to discuss any phase of it with any opponent?

Material.

1. Are you using real facts and arguments? Are you relying too much on your feelings?
2. Are you going to use figures or statistics? If so, can you present them in graphic and interesting fashion?
3. Will any of your material antagonize any portion of your audience?
4. Are you going to tell any stories or anecdotes? If so, are they in point? Will they serve your purpose?
5. Can you strengthen any argument by quoting a well known man?
6. If you are going to mention a candidate by name, are you prepared to

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give the audience an insight into his human side? How much do you know about him?

7. Is your material of especial interest to the locality in which you will speak? How much local color have you put into it? How much do you know about the community?
8. Is your material selected merely to draw applause from your adherents? Will it give the wavering and independent voter something to think about? Will it give the audience "something to take home?"
9. Can you make use of repetition and suggestion?
10. How much do you know about the people you will address? Will your arguments be clear to everyone? Are they as simple as you can make them?

11. Have you tested the effectiveness of your arguments in conversation?
12. Are your arguments in keeping with the latest turn of the campaign?

Construction.

1. How are you going to begin? Will your opening gain attention? Will you begin on neutral ground so as to avoid the possibility of antagonizing anyone? Have you prepared several openings so as to be ready for any situation which might confront you when you rise to speak?
2. Can you outline your entire speech? Does the sequence of your ideas strike you as logical and effective?
3. Is your speech constructed so as to drive home the central idea? Are you sure that it is not too heavy? Can you not lighten it in spots by humor or anecdote?

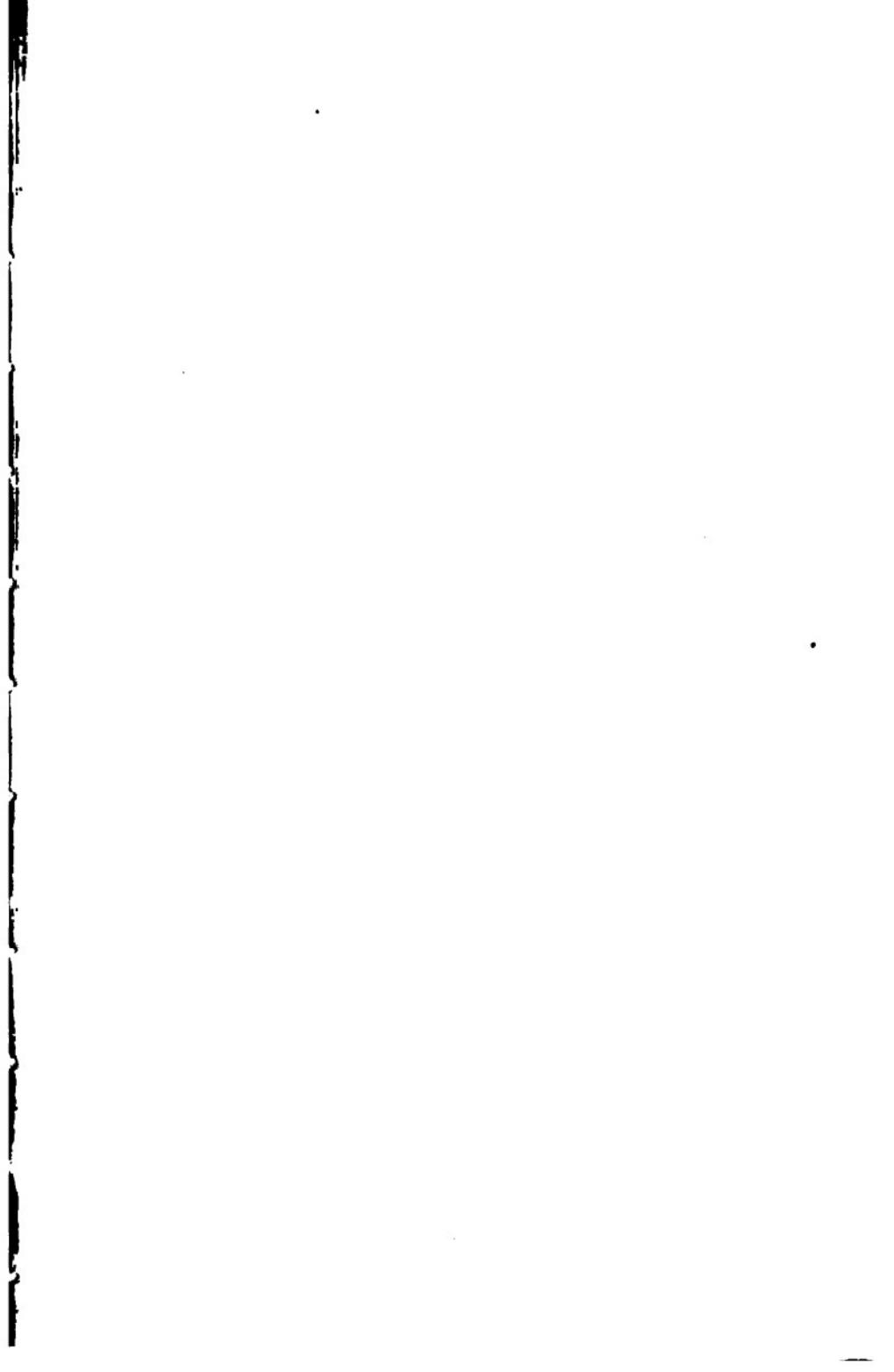
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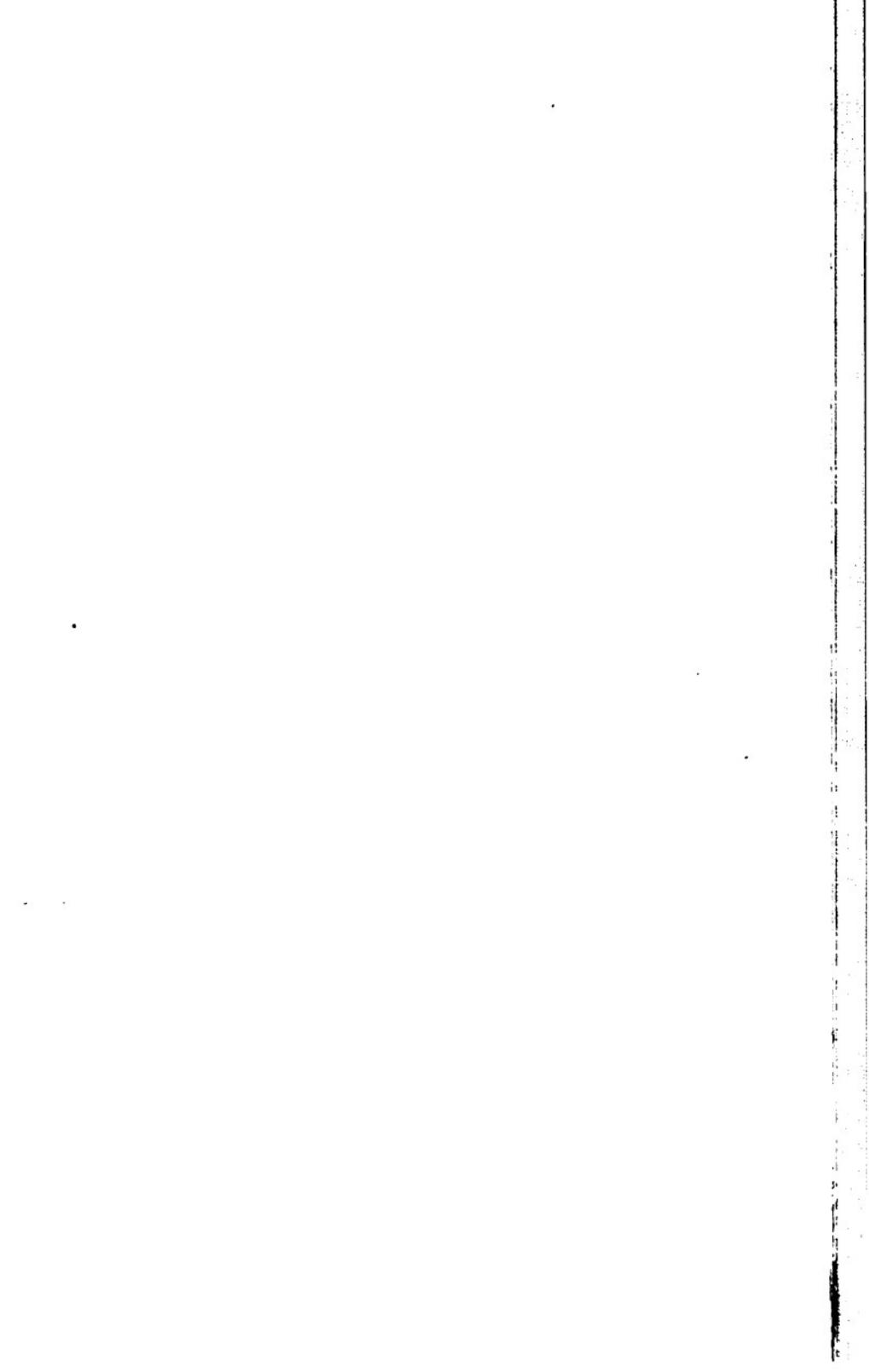
4. Are you prepared to close on a moment's notice? Have you prepared an ending that will leave a single, strong impression?

Delivery.

1. Have you memorized the speech or merely the outline?
2. Are you physically fit for the occasion? What are you doing to preserve your voice?
3. Will you take the floor with confidence and courage? Are you ready to give the best that is in you?

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